1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

hunting, killed a deer, squirrel, or what not, and, delivering the following speech (Bill), gave his wife to eat:

> This time we are going to eat. This woman for a long time has not eaten meat. I am going to feed her. You, Washo, here you will cook it. Anything I find I'll feed the woman. All of you, you will cook. Cook, you will bring it here, then we'll all eat.

The husband shared his wife's fast only for the first two or three days after the birth, being subsequently free to eat anything. The mother did not drink any cold water after the delivery lest "it should kill her quickly."

According to Dave, no man was allowed near the woman in confinement. The navel cord was cut with a wooden knife as sharp as a razor. After the delivery the mother drank a sugar-pine potion "to make the blood come out." The father had to stay away; after the child's birth he bathed in a creek lest the baby die. He also gave some man a buckskin, which helped keep disease away from the infant. The mother stayed at home for about ten days; her month's meat fast was "in order not to raise up the blood again." A woman who had given birth to four children no longer observed this taboo (Jack).

People liked twins and sometimes laughed at one of them, saying, "That man does more work than others" (because he is double).

Barrett[1] reports that cradles were decorated differently in accordance with the infant's sex. This agrees with Paviotso data, but was not confirmed by Bill for the Washo.

After four or five months, an infant was put into a bigger and stronger cradle (Dave).

NAMES

Children were not named until old enough to talk. A child's funny saying led to a corresponding name, retained in later life. Jack was thus called A'abi, which has no meaning. Boys and girls bore the same kind of name. This custom of name giving has been abandoned altogether.

EDUCATION

The Washo did not strike naughty children, but merely talked to them. A father would make a little bow and arrows for his son and teach him to shoot squirrels. Stories were told only at night, when a boy might ask an old man to tell him a story, the elder answering, "Lie down, I'll talk to you." At last the child would fall asleep.

ADOPTION

A barren woman sometimes adopted her cousin's child and kept it for good. If a woman died in childbirth, her mother took care of the infant. A man who took a fancy to a little boy sometimes desired to have him for a son and married the mother.

PUBERTY

The most important dance was the girls' puberty ceremony, t'ɛwɛ'we. It was the only one witnessed by Bill. He said it was still common in Carson Valley, but had been discontinued in Antelope Valley for lack of girls. T'ɛwɛ'we and

[1] *Op. cit.*, 21.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

587 Though correct, sororate and levirate were not compulsory; Bill explicitly said that the bereaved person might marry anyone else.

606 There was no mother-in-law taboo. An old woman would say to her daughter's husband, "Go, get some water, and we'll cook and eat." Then they would get some wood, and the young man would obey, speaking "good" to his mother-in-law. When he killed game, he brought it home. Then the old woman asked her daughter to cook for her husband, and would be satisfied. A woman might advise her son-in-law, telling him that she was treating him like an own son, would bid him ask her own son whether he wanted to join in looking for game, and so on. According to Dave, fathers-in-law did not lecture their daughters' husbands in this fashion, nor, for that matter, did all mothers-in-law.

607 Brothers-in-law were friendly.

DEATH

764 According to Barrett,* cremation was formerly customary, whereas nowadays [178] there is burial. Jack did not confirm the first part of this statement, declaring that the Digger Indians burnt corpses whereas the Washo always put them [765] into the ground, interment being by relatives of the deceased. Everyone cried, but there was no hair cutting. If the dead man had fine clothes, they were [302] buried with him. Nowadays, when an Indian dies, his kin buy a coffin; also a [178] good shirt, clothes, and shoes, and put them on the corpse. The family do not wish to stay in the house, but put up a hut on a new site and move there.

[768] Dave, however, gave so circumstantial a statement about cremation that its occurrence, at least among some of the Washo, can hardly be doubted. When an Indian died, he said, an old doctor spoke to the survivors as follows: "Do not bury him, or a wolf or coyote coming along will smell the dead person and eat him. You must not bury him in the ground; burn him up, and pick up what is left of the bones to put them into some creek." All used to dance around the fire and cry. They would put up sagebrush two to three feet high and place [753] the corpse on top. The clothes of the deceased were hidden lest anyone wearing them should fall sick. An old doctor dreamed that people should not wear [787] the dead person's clothing. The Digger Indians when mourning mix ashes and grease to put on the face, which they do not wash for about five months. The Washo did not put anything on the face, but cried continually for three months [765] and did not wash the face for a year. Old men and women cut the hair as close as possible, but the young people did not care. The house where the death oc- [768] curred was not burnt, but abandoned. Sometimes the best-looking property—basketry—was burned with the corpse. The deceased man's bow was broken up and put up in the hills so that no one could use it thereafter.

According to Bill, the Washo sometimes buried and sometimes—but not very often—burned the corpse, putting it on a pile of brush. In the latter event the bones were subsequently interred.

* Barrett, *op. cit.*, 9.

[P 393, B]

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"Yeah I had a couple of meetings for Onie. I helped her too. Except she would not do the things I told her to do. I made that cancer move around from her back where it hurt a lot. I got it around in front where it didn't hurt her so much. But she wouldn't keep doing the things I told her to do."

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These two incidents reveal traditional attitudes transferred into a new framework of curing. In the first place, illness is a corporeal object which can be manipulated—moved and (if one's power is sufficient) removed. Secondly, peyote is viewed as a manifestation of a spiritual power. The informant with gallstones did not attend meetings to have his ailment cured; rather, he used water and tobacco, traditional adjuncts to shamanistic curing. Moreover he did not take peyote for his illness; he simply prayed to Peyote in a manner very similar to praying to a spirit guardian for assistance.

Other shadows of the shamanistic past seem to lie heavily on the minds of modern Washo peyotists. In his discussion of peyotism, d'Azevedo (1957, pp. 624-626) describes in some detail the attitudes about the assistance or interference that one peyote singer or drummer may receive from another. The statements of his informants, although couched in different terms, are reminiscent of many I heard dealing with competitions between shamans.

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For several years peyotists were a powerful factor in the tribal council, and they were not loath to play upon the connection between peyote and poison parsnips in the minds of their cotribalists. The peyote button is considered to be a powerful agent and as such potentially dangerous. Therefore a man who could deal with this agent, just like a shaman who could eat the poison parsnip with impunity, was a man to be listened to and followed.

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Despite a belief in and a dependence on shamanistic curing or its latter-day counterpart, the peyote curing session, most Washo are willing patients of white doctors. This suggests that perhaps the old views are disappearing under the scientific certainty of Western medicine. Quite the reverse seems true, however. Every failure of white medicine strengthens the Indians' belief that the real source of curing power is a gift from nature. Every success is attributed to assistance the white men have received from Indians' power. When asked the direct question: "Why aren't there so many Indian doctors today?" my informant answered: "Well, Indians just don't need all that power today. The white doctors know a lot of things and can cure sickness pretty good. In the old days we didn't know them things so we had to have them real powers." This attitude, that nature provided whatever was necessary for Washo survival, crops up in other contexts which I will discuss later in this paper. Far from disappearing, the old notions seem to be maintaining a strong hold on the minds of the Washo. As the number of active peyotists dwindle (d'Azevedo and Merriam 1957), one gets the impression that the shamanistic forms may again become a more important part of Washo life.

Trade

Trade and gift exchange were not clearly separate in Washo society. However, the language does distinguish between sharing (mibé shigihi) and trading (damalu).[1] In trade there tended to be immediate reciprocation while gift exchange often involved a time lapse. Trade also tended to be competitive and to increase with less intensive social ties. Trade involved explicit negotiation and social status was secondary as a factor in the transaction. Trade involved an impersonal relation which focused on the economic goods rather than upon the social relations of persons involved.

Washo trade was an estimated one or two percent of the total distribution. Four types of trade s recognized: (1) silent, without face-to-face interaction; (2) personal, where personal ties are relatively important; (3) administered, based on governmental rules; and (4) market, which is relatively free from personal and governmental ties. Washo trade in this framework was "personal".

Hank Pete maintained that women would often trade under circumstances in which men would ordinarily give gifts. Trade proceeded with little haggling. The transaction was initiated by either a buyer or a seller. It took the form of propositions, questions, and answers such as "I'll trade you this for that. This one? No, that one! I need more for that one. Then I'll include this, too. We can trade then." Trade with non-Washo was conducted through gestures and a few key words understood by both parties, such as damalu for "trade".

The Washo lacked rigid standards of reference, that is, the valuation of two materials to be traded in terms of a third material. Goods were traded without reference to their value in other goods and without a traditional exchange rate. For this reason it was difficult to collect data on equivalencies of value or rates of exchange.

From descriptions of actual transactions, and by insisting on some relative values of objects, the following scale was established by this writer. Hank Pete said that rabbit nets were never traded. They were too valuable. Many things, because of tradition or personal desires, were not traded. Such things might be a shaman's paraphernalia, a bow that had killed a number of deer, or food and clothing needed for survival. Freed and Freed (n.d., 10) state that the loss or destruction of a shaman's curing implements was a cause of illness to the shaman.

Certain things were near the top of the value scale. A double rabbit skin blanket, a large coiled water tight cooking basket (giuleu), a whole buck deer, and three tanned deer skins were roughly equal in value. Hank Pete said he had never heard of anyone who had three tanned deer skins, and a

1. A loan word from Miwok, according to William H. Jacobsen, Jr. (personal communication).

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funeral speech, the destruction of property, and the abandonment of the house are all connected with a belief in ghosts who can cause sickness for their living relatives. Property is the "road" by which the ghost can return from the land of the dead. Its destruction prevents the return of the ghost (Freed and Freed, 1963). Houses are not destroyed for they are too valuable, but they are [824] abandoned for a time and purified by smoking with sagebrush before reoccupancy. We did not observe any hair cutting for funerals. Holbrook says that 965
the first thing people must do on returning to their homes from a funeral is 178
to wash their faces. Thus it is doubtful if the year's prohibition on washing the face is still maintained, but we have no testimony on this point with regard [302] to mourners. The name of the dead is permanently taboo, as it was formerly. [551] The modern Washo funeral often takes place immediately after a Baptist service held by a white missionary in the Dresslerville church.

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The Shaman's Curing Rite

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The Shaman's curing rite is described in some detail in Freed and Freed (1963) and so only a summary will be given here. The shaman cured diseases by means of supernatural power. If the disease was caused by a ghost, [775] the shaman identified the ghost and the property it had traveled on. He then told the patient either to get rid of the property or to treat it properly. If the [753] disease was due to the intrusion of a foreign body into the victim either through [754] sorcery or because the victim had mistreated food such as pinenuts, the shaman sucked out the object causing the disease. The shaman used a variety of implements in his curing, some of which represented the sources of his power. A tubular bone pipe, tobacco, and a cocoon rattle were used by all shamans. [756] The eagle feather was frequently used, for the eagle was a potent source of power for many shamans.

The curing ceremony was held each night for four nights in the home of the patient before a crowd of spectators. The shaman prayed to his power, sang songs received from it, smoked and blew smoke on the patient, shook his rattle and walked about. He alternated these activities until about midnight on the first three nights of the ceremony and continued until dawn on the fourth night. On the morning after the fourth night everyone took a bath to conclude the ceremony. At some time during the ceremony the shaman had a vision [787] that told him whether or not the cure would be successful.

The modern curing rite is apparently similar in all its essentials to 755
the aboriginal one. Minor changes have occurred. Cigarettes are used in- 178
stead of a tubular stone pipe; the ceremony is sometimes shortened to two nights; and the shaman no longer goes into a trance, vomits out the disease object, paints the patient, or brushes away the disease as reported by Stewart (1941, 413-14).

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[785] Rupert hired a shaman to teach him to use his power. The shaman told Rupert that he must fast four days and four nights every spring and fall for four years. On the final day of every fasting period he took some Indian food and placed it in a river or spring. After four years Rupert had his power under control. This shaman, or possibly the one mentioned above who had treated him, told Rupert that an eagle and a little boy were beside him. The eagle was to talk to Rupert during the curing ceremonies and tell him if the patient would recover.

Rupert is occasionally inconsistent. He says that the Hindu boy (sometimes Rupert says that the Hindu is a girl) is not his wegelé́yu, but in describing a curing ceremony, Rupert lists his wegelé́yus as water, the Hindu, the eagle and the little boy. Because all four of these function as wegelé́yu in curing ceremonies, we regard them as wegelé́yu. It is interesting that only water wegelé́yu came to Rupert in his dream. He learned about the Hindu only when the shaman who had treated him sucked the bone from his forehead. Rupert also learned about the eagle and the boy from another shaman.

[834] Hank Pete's mother was a shaman. She became one before she was married. She ate no meat, grease or salt for four years and demonstrated the strength of her power by walking around in the snow without moccasins. Pete says sexual intercourse was forbidden to people training to be shamans, but this information was given in the course of a general discussion and not when talking about a specific case. Rupert does not mention sexual abstinence. Hank Pete's mother had a group of six people with her whom she was training as shamans. They went about, in Pete's words, like the Salvation Army, praying for the Indians, singing their power songs, and accepting donations of food and perhaps a rabbitskin blanket.

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[158] Hank Pete told the following story, which he said is true, about a boy's receiving power from the water-baby. A famous shaman, Welukúshkush, frequently took a young boy around with him. One day the boy had a fit and became unconscious on the shore of Lake Tahoe. His parents sent for Welukúshkush whom they blamed for the boy's condition; they wanted to kill
[753] Welukúshkush. Welukúshkush said that the boy's soul had been taken by the water-baby and that he could bring back the boy. Welukúshkush had the water-baby for his wegelé́yu. Welukúshkush began to shake his rattle and pray. He walked into the water and stayed underneath for 10 minutes, according to Pete. He walked around the boy four times and had the boy's mother call his name four times. The boy began to revive; his nose bled and blood covered his chest. Welukúshkush faced the boy toward the lake and gave him his rattle to shake. Then Welukúshkush walked the boy around in a circle four times. The boy acted as if he had been asleep. After this experience, the boy became a shaman.

753 Ghosts are the second of the two culture elements associated with the
775 bear configuration. When a person dies, his spirit goes east under the sun. However, the spirit of the dead person may not always depart, but may remain in the vicinity to cause sickness for a living relative. The ghost "travels" on some bit of his property that was not destroyed at the funeral but remained in the possession of a relative. In the seven cases and one general statement we have recorded of illness caused by ghosts, the ghost has been a relative of his victim.

753 All the encounters with ghosts reported by informants were in dreams.
775 Sometimes the ghosts were seen, but more often they seemed to exert their
787 influence without showing themselves to the victim. Of the seven cases of illness caused by ghosts, one of the victims saw the ghost in a dream, two others apparently did not, and there is no information for the other four. However, if a ghost is involved in illness, it will be identified by the shaman in the curing ceremony.

Lowie recorded several examples of people seeing ghosts while awake. One man once heard some Paviotso singing and dancing. He saw some women sitting on the ground, not dancing. He spoke to them; they did not answer. He spoke to the owner of a horse standing nearby, and again received no answer. Then everyone vanished. The Washo was frightened and went to an Indian house. Another man saw two Indians approaching him. He sat down under a tree and waited for them to reach him, but they never did. "It was the [755] Devil....I don't know whether these are dead people or what." He became ill but went to a spring, bathed, and recovered. In a third case, two Indians met half a dozen dead people who seemed to be alive. They spoke to these beings but received no answer. The ghosts sat around a fire cooking squirrels; but because they were dead, they neither spoke nor drank water. The Washo became alarmed and went away (Lowie, 1939, 322-3). Particularly noteworthy in these accounts is the fact that people saw ghosts who were not relatives and in one case the man became ill because of it.

775 Whirlwinds are thought to contain ghosts (Stewart, 1941, 415; Lowie,
[92] 1939, 322). Holbrook says that when a gust of hot air hits someone, people
[551] say a dead person has passed by. Lowie (1939, 322) reports that a dead person's name should not be uttered. "Whoever broke this rule was rebuked as follows: 'He is dead, he is gone, don't call him!'"

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Beliefs about the causes of disease and curing methods depend to a great extent on supernatural power and ghosts. Soul loss, an encounter with a ghost, and sorcery are three causes of illness involving the supernatural. The first is apparently rare: the taking of the boy's soul by the water-baby in the Welukŭshkush story recounted above is the only case we have recorded. Encounters with ghosts are more common. Our informants reported seven such encounters and made one general statement about this cause of sickness. The ghost causes illness, says Rupert, by "drying up the person's blood." It is possible, however, that ghosts kill by stealing a person's soul, for our informants often speak of the desire of the ghost to "take the relative back with him." However, no informant declared specifically that ghosts capture souls.

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Diseases caused by sorcery are also common. Our informants reported three cases and made four general statements about this source of disease. All the statements and two of the three cases indicate that sorcery involves nonrelatives, but in the case of diseases caused by ghosts the ghost and his victim are usually related. Sorcerers are persons with supernatural power who cause illness by magically shooting some object into their victim. They accomplish this simply by thinking about the person they wish to make ill or else by blowing their breath in his direction. Lowie's various accounts of sorcerers casting their spells differ from the statements of our informants. Lowie describes one sorcerer as spitting into his right palm and clenching his fist. Then he opens his fist, the thumb separated from the fingers (Lowie, 1939, 319). On another occasion, "The sorcerer merely took a bath in the cool of the early morning on four successive days and talked to himself. When ready, he would get within possibly five hundred yards of his victim. Then he would rub some stuff into the palm of his hand till it became invisible. He also took some fine sand and stepped on it with his left foot. His victim would fall sick, and within two days the heart would be knocked out of him without anyone's suspecting the cause, so that he would die.... Some doctors used a different procedure, picking up dust and scattering it toward their enemy with their hands" (Lowie, 1939, 320).

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Some diseases have no supernatural cause and may be treated by anyone with one of the large number of vegetable medicines known to the Washo. However, some of the best of these medicines are gathered by shamans who, in dreams, learn where they grow. The shaman may then sell these medicines or give them away.

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Shamans cure supernaturally caused diseases by means of their powers. The shaman uses a set of implements (wegeléyu) in curing ceremonies. Each shaman dreams of his implements, and these therefore differ slightly among shamans;

755 When a ghost is the cause of the disease, the shaman has a vision in
756 which he identifies the ghost and the property upon which it had traveled. The
775 shaman then advises the patient to get rid of this property; or, if the patient
[787] wants to keep it, he makes an additional payment to the shaman who then gives instructions that, if followed, permit him to retain the property without getting sick. Rupert usually instructs the patient to give water to the property. Sometimes the ghost gives the patient orders. When the shaman discovers this, he advises the patient to follow the orders of the ghost. Rupert relates how one ghost told her niece to bathe in a hot spring. The niece failed to do so and became ill. Rupert treated another case in which a ghost traveled on a winnowing basket and some eagle feathers and made a granddaughter ill. Rupert told the girl to give water to these things. She did and recovered.

● 753 Two causes of disease affect only shamans. One is illness resulting
756 from power that has come to an individual who cannot control it. Such a per-
[778] son either learns to control the power or else has a shaman cure him by sucking out the power during a regular curing ceremony. The source of the second
[787] illness is the loss or destruction of the shaman's curing implements. If they are lost, another shaman may be able to locate them by having a vision in the course of a curing ceremony. If the implements are permanently lost, new implements may apparently be substituted. This conclusion is based on a single case in which Rupert claims to have cured a sick woman by informing her that two small children had lost her implements and that she must replace them. The destruction of a shaman's implements results in his death, according to our informants.

721 Warfare was a second culture pattern in which supernatural power
756 played a prominent part. Shamans accompanied all war parties and served
[752] two functions: since they were often specialists in herbal medicine, they treated the wounded, and they called upon their supernatural powers to keep
[789] the enemy and his dogs asleep during the assault. The Washo attacked at night, hoping to surprise the enemy, and the shaman selected the night.

726 Shamans who had the power to control the weather sometimes aided in
756 warfare. A story widely known among the Washo tells of a battle with the
789 neighboring Maidu near Honey Lake in California. A leader gathered a band
821 of warriors and two powerful shamans who possessed storm wegeléyu. The shamans summoned a north wind mixed with hail and the enemy froze to death. Lowie reports a similar version of this story (1939, 321).

721 Before a war party set out contests between shamans were held be-
754 cause the warriors wanted the shamans with the strongest powers to accompany
756 them. Hank Pete says that the shamans filled their pipes and began to think about each other. They then exchanged pipes and began to smoke. After a

Actually, the Washo seem to have held a dual conception of the shaman; he had the ability both to kill and to cure, and this coincided with the Washo view of the supernatural beings that inhabited nature. The Washo regarded their world as pervaded with power, which was a vague and enormous force embodied in a multitude of spirits. These spirits resided in natural and supernatural forms, such as birds, animals and "water-babies." Communion with these spirits came in dreams and provided the power by which a person could "exercise a possible measure of control over the fortunes and hazards of life" (Siskin, 1941, 27). To exercise this power and thus become a shaman was possible, however, only after a spirit presented itself to a neophyte, who cultivated it by proper training. Thus the vision quest was not practiced, though Downs notes that in actual practice it was probably a "conscious and voluntary act on the part of an individual" (1961, 370). In the case of children, Siskin quotes an informant as saying that one as young as seven years old could dream about a spirit, but he "will not know what it is all about" (1941, 41). A shaman, however, could recognize when a child had been visited and would entreat the spirit not to harm the child and to leave him until he had grown up.

Obtaining a spirit was looked upon as being both good and bad. Its entrance into a person was accompanied by sickness, and its instructions often produced physical hardships by demanding a rigorous pattern of behavior, including abstention from certain foods, during the training period. On the other hand, possession of a spirit gave its carrier powerful controls over his fellow man and his environment.

The possession of a spirit permitted an individual to become a shaman or so-called Indian doctor, with the ability to cure illnesses, but at the same time, he had the potential of practicing black magic and becoming a sorcerer. Indeed, the Washo did not terminologically distinguish between shaman and sorcerer, and the dual nature of this role was best exemplified in cases of illness. It was the responsibility of the Indian doctor to deal with all maladies. After performing a four day ritual of bringing his power to bear on the diseased object that had intruded the patient, the doctor would then extract the item. The reasons given for the cause of the disease were many, and included violation of ritual specifications connected with hunting, malevolence of ghosts, and contact with the dead. The most frequent reason given for illness, however, was witchcraft, which shamans were expected to cure since one of them was always thought responsible for the condition (Siskin, 1941, 140). This duality of the shamans was definitely considered to be weighted toward the negative side. More often than not a patient would die, and this was considered proof of the evil nature of shamans. The Washo believed that even if a shaman were to cure someone one day, this same person could be his victim the next. Siskin believed that "the feeling of apprehension and anxiety with regard to sorcery may be said to permeate the culture," and this also

There is considerable variation with respect to beliefs about twins. Lowie (1939, 305) wrote that "People liked twins and sometimes laughed at one of them, saying 'That man does more work than others' (because he is double)." Susie Dick reported that Sadie had twins and one was buried alive. Manta said that one of a pair of twins always died, and that when she buried one of her twins the other one had died in sympathy. Another informant said that one of a pair of twins died at birth in Waco Valley, and that it was generally bad luck to have twins.

If the mother would not tell who the father of a newborn child was, the child may have been allowed to die. A few informants deny this, but some say that if the mother desired to keep the child she was always free to do so.

Lowie (1939, 305) wrote that "A barren woman sometimes adopted her cousin's child and kept it for good. If a woman died in childbirth, her mother took care of the infant."

Certain positions of sexual intercourse were considered better for producing boys and certain for girls. Also a game of string figures like "cat's cradle" was played by women to determine the sex of an offspring.

Girl's Puberty

When a young girl between 12 and 14 years of age first began to menstruate (gumisāsum) she told her mother. This started a several week period of ritual observances that would officially see her through the change from a girl to a marriageable woman. This ritual prepared her for her life as a woman, generally, and for proper behavior during menstruation in particular.

Any menstruation involved certain proscriptions, just as did all excretion. One should bury body wastes of all kinds. One should not spit in the fire or burn finger nails. When the hair is cut off it should be thrown in a stream, or buried with a wrapping of sagebrush bark deep in the mud. But burning was prohibited. It would be a terrible thing to burn a baby's feces, for example.

Whenever menstruation occurs the woman is forbidden salt, meat, fish, or fat of any kind. The flow lasts longer for those who eat meat. She should not scratch herself. When her menstruation is over she should wash in cold water, but to drink or bathe in cold water during menstruation would cause sickness. Eating ice cream today by menstruating women is sometimes explained as the cause of sicknesses.

along the East Carson River." Roy James said that his mother's mother from Markleeville was married to two brothers at the same time. 595

Lowie (1939, 308-10) made several important observations concerning Washo marriage: "The giving of present to the bride's parents is called kumyu'ga, the return gift umlagu' 'wa'a. This exchange continued for several months. Sometimes a youth and a girl met at a dance and came to live together without parental arrangements. . . . Bill said a wife used to obey her husband. . . . The kinship terminology classes all cousins as siblings, and marriages of cousins were not considered proper. . . . The sororate was practiced, at least to some degree. . . . A widow would wait six months, a year, or even two years before remarrying, and then sometimes married her husband's brother. . . . Though correct, sororate and levirate were not compulsory; Bill explicity said that the bereaved person might marry anyone else. . . . There was no mother-in-law taboo." 58 [593] [601] [606]

Most of the Washo marriages that take place today are performed according to modern American customs. There has been considerable pressure from the white community along this line so that land settlement, welfare, and social security payments can be stabilized. The first Washo to apply to the clerk of Douglas County, Nevada, for a marriage license did so in 1919. 177 585

Death

Death (deyŭliyi ?) occurred by "disease," accident, starvation, witchcraft, old age, murder, abandonment and suicide, in roughly that order of importance. "Disease" occurred when the body was entered by a foreign spirit or object. If the object had been placed there by a person it was witchcraft and, when discovered, witches were murdered. Old or blind people who could no longer keep up the strenuous treks or who were no longer economically useful became resigned to die and accepted their fate. They would say "This will be my last trip to the pinenuts and then I will stay there and die" or "I will go for acorns and not return." 761 753 732 888

Grace Dangberg (1919, 6) collected the following story from an old white resident of Genoa, D. R. Hawkins. "I found an old blind Indian left in the cold to die. He was left with a cup of water and some pinenuts tied to the pole of a rickety tent so he could find his way back to it. I discovered him and persuaded an Indian to take care of him for pay. He was deserted by this Indian. He was found again by whites who got another Indian to take care of him. Finally the Indians took him to a cliff, shoved him over, and stoned him to death."